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tory of the internal revenue system. If Dr. Howe had followed the debates of Congress, he would have had no difficulty in understanding the ready acquiescence of the majority in 1861 in the proposition to establish an income tax.

A. C. MILLER.

*The Middle Period, 1817-1858.* By JOHN W. BURGESS, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law in Columbia University. [The American History Series.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1897. Pp. xvi, 544.)

So the United States, like Europe, has now its Middle Age! The phrase here applies to a period of uncertain destinies when the sentiments of strong nationality and strong particularism struggled together towards a doubtful victory. In the first chapter on "The Nationalization of the old Republican Party" the stage is cleared for the two combatants. National independence was finally won in the war of 1812. Pride in national feeling was universal. The separatism of colonial times and of the Resolutions of '98 was extinguished and all parties and sections evinced a tendency to magnify the offices of the central government, at once the symbol and the organ of nationality. On one side stood Calhoun advocating a national bank, a protective tariff upon manufactures and national appropriations for internal improvements. On another side were heard the acclamations that greeted Jackson's bold performances in Florida or the annexation of the same country by the diplomacy of John Quincy Adams. Then began the reaction towards particularism, devotion to local interests, "states' rights." It was inspired first by slavery in the long struggle over the admission of Missouri. It was entangled with dissensions due to economic interests, in the tariffs of 1824, 1827 and 1828, and it was promoted by those dissensions. The author shows how and why, after the Missouri Compromise, the slave-holding aristocracy began to take refuge in the citadel of "Strict Construction." It may have been King Cotton that, by the mouths of Thomas Cooper and George McDuffie, 1827-1832, first called the Democratic party back to the Jefferson of '98. But it was the slave power that appropriated the doctrine and, after the contest over the abolitionist right of petition, became master of the political force of particularism.

Here begins the historic, continuous duel to which these opening chapters have but furnished the preludes. It is the duel between reaction and progress, between disorganization and centralization, between slavery, upholding a political science of compromises, of sectional interests and of industrial crudeness and dependence, and true democracy seeking to frame a political science consistent with itself, strong in national feeling, intoxicated with "equality" and nurtured amid the leveling influences of the western prairies.

The last two hundred pages of this volume, although divided into ten chapters, are really but a monograph on the acquisition of Texas and the

transmontane territory and the political consequences thereof. Nothing is allowed to interfere with the view of the two great contending forces in the nation. Here, or elsewhere in the book, the reader will look in vain for any account of social changes, of religious movements, of industrial history, or of the wonderful outburst of inventions. This is a history of politics only, and the chapters, each of which is a topical study, follow one another like Euclidean demonstrations. The action is rapid, the narrative at once lucid and forcible, the philosophical comment positive and stimulating. Nowhere else is there, in brief form, so clear and admirable a summary of the influence of the Missouri controversy and of the results of the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. Of the Dred Scott case, or cases, Professor Burgess presents an original account received by him from Mr. A. C. Crane, of St. Louis, who was a clerk in the office of Roswell M. Field, Scott's counsel. This account agrees in general, though not in minute detail, with the account in Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*. The last chapters, on "The Struggle for Kansas," are the most vigorous of all in the book and will provoke most discussion and disagreement.

There are phrases here hot from the anvil. John Brown, termed "the Loki of Kansas 'Free-State' history," is also called robber and murderer. He and his partisans are "cut-throats and highwaymen." His "deeds are not means to anything except the establishment of the reign of hell on earth." (It is unfortunate, by the way, that the master of such vigorous English as this should permit himself to write of the "mental niveau" of an audience or of a "tremendous bouleversement.") It is possible that history will finally award to John Brown neither the violent execration which is here allotted to him, nor the "maudlin adoration" which Professor Burgess justly condemns. The author terms John Brown "a dangerous criminal." Perhaps "dangerous fanatic" would be a safer phrase. John Brown seems to have been a prodigy of religious fanaticism, a Ziska born out of time, or as Professor Spring in his excellent work on Kansas suggests, "a Puritan astray." It is in this character of an enthusiast crazed by a dreadful wrong that the nation finally beheld and accepted him, even in his crimes, as forever marching on.

Towards the abolitionist agitation as a whole, Professor Burgess is very critical and very just, though one may wonder at his unusually lenient, almost exculpatory allusion to the atrocious murder of Lovejoy. Neither does he render full justice, in his account of the assault on Sumner, to the provocations that Sumner had endured from the studied and contemptuous insolence of Southern and Democratic senators. There is, however, in this book but little analysis of individual characters. The author conceives of politics as related to constitutional development and he preserves the tone and manner of a constitutional lawyer. Even Calhoun, who welded together slavery, free-trade and particularism, and who became the oracle of that political philosophy to which Professor Burgess devotes half his space, appears in these pages as little more than a label attached to various exercises in logic and argumentation. There is no

adequate explanation of his flight from the extreme of nationalism to the extreme of particularism, or of the glittering ambitions that filled his sight but mocked his touch. Thurlow Weed seems not to win even a mention, honorable or otherwise. The influence of Martin Van Buren and his associates in the national democracy is hardly accounted for, while Van Buren's master, Jackson, is blasted by a lightning-stroke like this: "He had the fortune to live at a time and in a country when and where high qualifications simply to discharge the duties of an office were beginning to be regarded by the majority of the people as disqualifications for holding the office."

Professor Burgess is so firm a supporter of the sentiment of nationality that he seems to find no occasion for reproach in the story of our westward territorial expansion. The cession of Florida introduces the doctrine that each state has a right to possess its natural boundaries. The territorial extension of the United States to the Rio Grande was, says Professor Burgess, "simply the fulfillment of the moral order of the world." This reasoning may seem less cogent to a Mexican than to a Yankee. The Mexican imbroglio is one of the few events in this period in which the author fails to hold a brief for the other side also. The charge that our government was deliberately mean and unfriendly to a weaker nation deserves a more leisurely and impartial consideration.

No reader of this book should fail to study the preface, which is replete with the strong individuality of the author. He has sought to secure impartiality by avoiding all recent histories of the events that he would describe and all "secondary material" of every description. He has, therefore, presumably woven this history almost exclusively from legislative and Congressional reports and other public documents. In this way, he remarks, "if the facts are twisted by prejudice, . . . they have suffered *only one twist*."

The result is a volume possessing a singular firmness and solidity of argument, strongly philosophical in character and abounding in trenchant criticism. The next and concluding volume in the series, on "The Civil War and Reconstruction," is to be by the same author. If it has the same strong texture that is in the volume before us, there will be good material to sharpen the wits of youthful statesmen. The whole of the great political drama of Slavery and Freedom is nowhere else presented in such clear and succinct form excepting in Woodrow Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, but that excellent little volume is much restricted in size and does not aim at that singleness of purpose which characterizes Professor Burgess's work.

*The Middle Period* is carefully fitted for the use of students with appendices showing the electoral votes and the cabinet officers, a chronology, a good bibliography and an index. There are five maps. There is a small typographical error on page 444, and, on page 53, in the fourteenth line, there is a serious omission of the words "prohibition of" before the phrase "further importations."

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.